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P A P E R

Printed with Allowance,

Entitled,

A New Test of the Church of England's Loyalty.

THE Accusing the Church of England of Want of Loyalty, or the putting it to a new Test, after so fresh a one, with relation to His Majesty, argues a high degree of Confidence in him who undertakes it. *She* knew well what were the Doctrines and Practices of those of the Roman Church, with Relation to Hereticks; and yet *She* was so true to her Loyalty, that *She* shut her eyes on all the Temptations, that so just a fear could raise in her: and *She* set her self to support His Majesties Right of Succession, with so much Zeal, that *She* thereby not only put her self in the power of her Enemies; but *She* has also exposed her self to the Scorn of those who insult over her in her Misfortune. *She* lost the Affections even of many of her own Children; who thought that her Zeal for an Interest, which was then so much decry'd, was a little too fervent: and all those who judged severely of the proceedings, thought that the Opposition which *She* made to the side that then went so high, had more Heat than Decency in it. And indeed all this

was so very Extraordinary, that if *She* was not acted by a principle of Conscience, *She* could make no Excuse for her conduct. There appeared such peculiar Marks of Affectation and Heartiness, at every time that the Duke was named, whether in Drinking his Health, or upon graver Occasions, that it seemed affected: and when the late King himself (whose Word they took that he was a Protestant) was spoke of but coldly, the very Name of the Duke set her Children all on fire; this made many conclude, that they were ready to Sacrifice all to him; for indeed their behaviour was inflamed with so much Heat, that the greater part of the Nation believed they waited for a fit opportunity to declare themselves. Faith in Jesus Christ was not a more frequent Subject of the Sermons of many, than Loyalty; and the Right of the Succession to the Crown, the Heat that appeared in the Pulpit, and the Learning that was in their Books on these Subjects, and the Eloquent Strains that were in their Addresses, were all Originals; and made the World conclude, that whatever might be

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laid to their charge, they should never be accused of any want of *Loyalty*, at least in this *King's* time, while the remembrance of so signal a service was so fresh. When His Majesty came to the *Crown*, these men did so entirely depend on the Promise that he made, *to maintain the Church of England*, that the doubting of the performance appeared to them the worst sort of *Infidelity*. They believed, that in His Majesty, the *Hero*, and the *King*, would be too strong for the *Papist*: and when any one told them, *How weak a tie the Faith of a Catholick to Hereticks must needs be*, they could not hearken to this with any patience; but looked on His Majesty's Promise as a thing so Sacred, that they employ'd their Interest to carry all *Elections* of *Parliament-Men*, for those that were recommended by the *Court*, with so much Vigour, that it laid them open to much Censure. In *Parliament* they moved for no *Laws* to secure their *Religion*; but assuring themselves, that *Honour* was the *Kings Idol*, they laid hold on it, and fancied, that a publick reliance on his *Word*, would give them an Interest in his Majesty, that was Generous, and more suitable to the Nobleness of a Princely Nature than any new *Laws* could be: so that they acquiesced in it, and gave the *King* a vast *Revenue* for Life: In the Rebellion that followed, they shewed with what Zeal they adhered to His Majesty, even against a Pretender that declared for them. And in the Session of *Parliament*, which came after that, they shewed their disposition to assist the *King* with new *Supplies*; and were willing to *Excuse* and *Indemnify* all that was past; only they desired with all possible Modesty, that the *Laws* which His Majesty had both *Promised*, and at his Coronation had *Sworn* to maintain, might be *executed*. Here is their Crime, which has raised all this Outcry; They did not move for the Execution of Severe or Penal *Laws*, but were willing to let those sleep, till it might appear by the behaviour of the *Papists*, whether they might deserve that there should be any Mi-

tigation made of them in their Favour. Since that time, our *Church-men* have been constant in mixing their Zeal for their *Religion* against *Popery*, with a Zeal for *Loyalty* against *Rebellion*, because they think these two are very well consistent one with another. It is true, they have generally expressed an unwillingness to part with the *two Tests*; because they have no mind to trust the keeping of their Throats to those who they believe will cut them: and they have seen nothing in the conduct of the *Papists*, either within or without the Kingdom, to make them grow weary of the *Laws* for their sakes; and the same principle of common sense, which makes it so hard for them to believe *Transubstantiation*, makes them conclude, that the *Autor* of this Paper, and his *Friends*, are no other, than what they *bear*, and *see*, and *know* them to be.

II. One Instance in which the *Church of England* shewed her Submission to the *Court*, was, that as soon as the *Nonconformists* had drawn a new Storm upon themselves, by their meddling in the matter of the *Exclusion*, many of her Zealous *Members* went into that Prosecution of them, which the *Court* set on foot, with more Heat, than was perhaps either justifiable in itself, or reasonable in those Circumstances; but how censurable soever some angry men may be, it is somewhat strange to see those of the *Church of Rome* blame us for it, which has decreed such unrelenting Severities against all that differ from her, and has enacted that not only in *Parliaments* but even in *General Councils*. It must needs sound oddly to hear the Sons of a *Church*, that must destroy all others as soon as it can compass it, yet complain of the Excesses of *Fines* and *Imprisonments*, that have been of late among us. But if this Reproach seems a little strange when it is in the Mouth of a *Papist*, it is yet much more provoking, when it comes from any of the *Court*. Were not all the *Orders* for the late *Severity* sent from thence? Did not the *Judges* in every *Circuit*;

quit, and the Favourite *Justices of Peace* in every Sessions, employ all their Eloquence on this Subject? The Directions that were given to the *Justices* and the *Grand Juries* were all repeated Aggravations of this Matter: and a little *Ordinary Lawyer*, without any other visible Merit, but an Outragious Fury in those Matters, on which he has chiefly valued himself, was of a sudden taken into His *Majesties* special Favour, and raised up to the *Highest Posts* of the Law. All these things, led some of our Obedient *Clergy*, to look on it as a piece of their Duty to the *King*, to encourage that *Severity*, of which the *Court* seemed so fond, that almost all People thought, they had set it up for a *Maxime*, from which they would never depart. I will not pretend to excuse all that has been done of late years: but it is certain, that the most crying *Severities* have been acted by persons that were raised up to be *Judges* and *Magistrates* for that very end: they were *Instructed*, *Trusted*, and *Rewarded* for it, both in the last and under the present Reign. *Church-preferences* were distributed, rather as Recommendations of this devouring Zeal, than of a real Merit; and men of more moderate Tempers were not only ill looked at, but ill used. So that it is in it self very unreasonable to throw the load of the late Rigour on the *Church of England*, without distinction: but it is worse than in good manners it is fit to call it, if this Reproach comes from the *Court*. And it is somewhat unbecoming to see that, which was set on at one time, disown'd at another; while yet he that was the *Chief Instrument* in it is still in so high a post; and begins now to treat the *Men of the Church of England*, with the same *Brutal Excesses*, that he bestowed so lately and so liberally on the *Dissenters*; as if his design were to render himself equally odious to all Mankind.

III. The *Church of England* may justly expostulate when she is treated as *Seditious*, after she has rendered the highest Services to the *Civil Authority*, that any *Church* now

on Earth has done: She has beaten down all the Principles of *Rebellion*, with more Force and Learning, than any Body of men has ever yet done; and has run the hazard of enraging her Enemies, and losing her Friends, even for those, from whom the more learned of her Members knew well what they might expect. And since our *Author* likes the figure of a *Snake in ones Bosom* so well; I could tell him, that according to the *Apologue*, we took up and sheltered an *Interest*, that was almost Dead, and by that warmth gave it Life, which yet now with the *Snake in the Bosom*, is like to bite us to Death. We do not say, we are the only *Church* that has Principles of *Loyalty*; but this we may say, that we are the *Church* in the World that carries them the *biggest*; as we know a *Church* that of all others sinks them the *lowest*. We do not pretend that we are *Inerrable* in this point, but acknowledge that some of our *Clergy* miscarried in it upon *King Edwards* Death: Yet at the same time, others of our Communion adhered more steadily to their *Loyalty* in favour of *Queen Mary*, than *She* did to the *Promises* that she made to *them*. Upon this Subject our *Author* by his false Quotation of *History*, forces me to set the *Reader* right, which if it proves to the disadvantage of his Cause, his Friends may thank him for it. I will not enter into so tedious a digression as the justifying *Queen Elisabeths* being Legitimate, and the throwing the *Basard* on *Queen Mary* must carry me to; this I will only say, that it was made out, that according to the best sort of Arguments used by the *Church of Rome*, I mean the constant Tradition of all Ages, *King Henry the VIII.* marrying with *Queen Katherine*, was *Incestuous*, and by Consequence *Queen Mary* was the *Basard*, and *Queen Elisabeth* was the *Legitimate* issue. But our *Author* not satisfied with defaming *Queen Elisabeth*, tells us, that the *Church of England* was no sooner set up by her, than *She* enacted those *Bloody Cannibal Laws*, to Hang, Draw and Quarter the *Priests of the Living God*: But since these *Laws* di-

sturb him so much, what does he think of the *Laws of Burning the poor Servants of the Living God*, because they cannot give *Divine Worship* to that which they believe to be only a *Piece of Bread*? The Representation he gives of this part of our History, is so false, that tho' upon *Queen Elisabeth's* coming to the *Crown*, there were many Complaints exhibited of the Illegal Violences that *Banner* and other Butchers had committed, yet all these were stifled, and no *Penal Lawes* were enacted against those of that Religion. The *Papish Clergy* were indeed turned out; but they were well used, and had Pensions assigned them; so ready was the *Queen* and our *Church* to forgive what was past, and to shew all Gentleness for the future. During the first thirteen years of her *Reign*, matters went on calmly, without any sort of Severity on the account of Religion. But then the restless spirit of that Party, began to throw the Nation into violent Convulsions. The *Pope* deposed the *Queen*, and one of the Party had the Impudence to post up the *Bull in London*; upon this followed several *Rebellions*, both in *England* and *Ireland*, and the *Papists* of both *Kingdoms* entered into Confederacies with the *King of Spain* and the *Court of Rome*; the *Priests* disposed all the *People* that depended on them, to submit to the *Popes* Authority in that *Deposition*, and to reject the *Queens*: These endeavours, besides open *Rebellions*, produced many Secret Practices against her Life. All these things gave the rise to the severe *Laws*, which began not to be enacted before the twentieth year of her *Reign*. A War was formed by the *Bull of Deposition*, between the *Queen* and the *Court of Rome*, so it was, a necessary Piece of Precaution, to declare all those to be Traitors who were the *Missionaries* of that Authority which had stript the *Queen* of hers: yet those *Laws* were not executed upon some *Secular Priests* who had the Honesty to condemn the *Deposing Doctrine*. As for the *Unhappy Death* of the *Queen of Scotland*, it was brought on by the wicked Practices of her own

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Party, who fatally Involved her in some of them; She was but a Subject here in *England*; and if the *Queen* took a more Violent way, than was decent for her own Security, here was no *Disloyalty* nor *Rebellion* in the *Church of England*, which owed her no sort of Allegiance.

IV. I do not pretend that the *Church of England* has any great cause to value her self upon her Fidelity to *King Charles the First*, tho' our *Author* would have it pass for the only thing of which She can boast: for I confess, the cause of the *Church* was so twitted with the *King's*, that Interest and Duty went together: tho I will not go so far as our *Author*, who says, that the *Law of Nature* dictates to every Individual to fight in his own Defence: This is too bold a thing to be delivered so crudely at this time. The *Laws of Nature* are perpetual, and can never be cancelled by any special Law: So if these *Gentlemen* own so freely, that this is a *Law of Nature*, they had best take care not to provoke *Nature* too much, lest She fly to the Relief that this *Law* may give her, unless she is restrained by the *Loyalty* of our *Church*. Our *Author* values his Party much upon their *Loyalty* to *King Charles the First*: but I must take the Liberty to ask him, of what Religion were the *Irish Rebels*; and what sort of *Loyalty* was it, that they shewed either in the first *Massacre*, or in the progress of that *Rebellion*? Their *Messages* to the *Pope*, to the *Court of France*, and to the *Duke of Lorrain*, offering themselves to any of these, that would have undertaken to protect them, are Acts of *Loyalty*, which the *Church of England* is no way inclined to follow: and the Authentical Proofs of these things are ready to be produced. Nor need I add to this, the hard terms that they offered to the *King*, and their ill usage of those whom he Employed. I could likewise repress the Insolence of this *Writer*, by telling him of the Slavish Submissions that their Party made to *Crommel*, both *Father* and *Son*. As for their Adhering to *King Charles the First*, there is a peculiar Bold-

Boldness in our *Authors* Assertion, who says, that they had no *Hope nor Interest in that Cause*: The State of that *Court* is not so quite forgot, but that we do well remember what Credit the *Queen* had with the *King*, and what Hopes *She* gave the *Party*; yet they did not so entirely espouse the *Kings Cause*, but that they had likewise a flying Squadron in the *Parliaments Army*, how boldly soever this may be denied by our *Author*; for this I will give him a proof, that is beyond exception, in a *Declaration* of that *King's*, sent to the *Kingdom of Scotland*, bearing date the 21. of *April* 1643. which is printed over and over again, and as an *Author* that writes the *History of the late Wars*, has assured us the clean draught of it, corrected in some places with the *King's* own hand, is yet extant: so that it cannot be pretended, that this was only a bold assertion of some of the *Kings Ministers*, that might be ill affected to their *Party*. In that *Declaration* the *King* studied to possess his *Subjects* of *Scotland* with the Justice of his Cause, and among other things, to clear himself of that Imputation that he had an *Army of Papists* about him, after many things said on that head, these words are added: *Great numbers of that Religion have been with great alacrity entertained in that rebellious Army against us: and others have been seduced, to whom we had formerly denied Employments; as appears by the Examination of many Prisoners, of whom we have taken twenty and thirty at a time of one Troop or Company of that Religion.* I hope our *Author* will not have the Impudence to dispute the Credit that is due to this Testimony: but no Discoveries, how evident soever they may be, can affect some sort of men; that have a Secret against blushing.

V. Our *Author* exhorts us, to change our *Principles of Loyalty*, and to take Example of our *Catholic Neighbours*, how to behave our selves towards a *Prince*, that is not of our *Perswasion*: But would he have us learn of our *Irish Neighbours*, to cut our Fellow Subjects Throats, and rebel against our *King*, be-

cause he is of another *Religion*? for that is the freshest Example that any of our *Catholic Neighbours* have set us: and therefore I do not look so far back, as to the *Gunpowder-plot*, or the *League of France* in the last Age. He reproaches us for failing in our *Fidelity to our King*. But in this matter we appeal to God, Angels, and Men; and in particular to His Majesty: Let our Enemies shew any one Point of our Duty, in which we have failed: for as we cannot be charged for having preached any Seditious Doctrine, so we are not wanting in the Preaching of the Duties of Loyalty, even when we see what they are like to cost us. The point which he singles out is, *that we have failed in that grateful Return, that we owed His Majesty for his Promise, of Maintaining our Church as it is established by Law; since upon that we ought to have repealed the Sanguinary Laws, and the late Impious Tests: the former being enacted to maintain the Usurpation of Queen Elisabeth; and the other being contrived to exclude the present King.* We have not failed to pay all the Gratitude and Duty that was possible, in return to His Majesties Promise; which we have carried so far, that we are become the Object even of our Enemies Scorn by it. With all Humility be it said, that if His Majesty had promised us a farther Degree of his Favour, than that of which the *Law* had assured us, it might have been expected, that our return should have been a degree of Obedience beyond that which was required by *Law*; so that the return of the Obedience enjoined by *Law*, answers a Promise of a *Protection* according to *Law*: yet we carried this matter further; for as was set forth in the beginning of this *Paper*, we went on in so high a pace of Compliance and Confidence, that we drew the censures of the whole *Nation* on us: nor could any Jealousies or Fears give us the least Apprehensions, till we were so hard pressed in matters of Religion, that we could be no longer silent: The same *Apostle* that taught us to Honour the *King*, said likewise, that we must obey God rather than man.

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Our Author knows the History of our *Laws* ill ; for besides what has been already said, touching the *Laws* made by Queen *Elisabeth*, the severest of all our *Penall Laws*, and that which troubles him and his friends most, was past by *K. James* after the *Gunpowder-plot* ; a Provocation that might have well justified even greater Severities. But tho our Author may hope to Impose on an Ignorant Reader, who may be apt to believe Implicitly, what he says concerning the *Laws* of the last Age, yet it was too bold for him to assert, that the *Tests*, which are so lately made, were contrived to exclude the present King : when there was not a thought of *Exclusion* many years after the first was made, and the Duke was excepted out of the second by a special *Proviso*. But these *Gentlemen* will do well never to mention the *Exclusion*; for every time that it is named, it will make people call to mind, the service that the *Church of England* did in that matter, and that will carry with it a Reproach of *Ingratitude* that needs not be aggravated. He also confounds the two *Tests*, as if that for *Publick Employments*, contained in it a declaration of the King's being an *Idolater*, or as he makes it, a *Pagan* : which is not at all in it ; but in the other for the *Members of Parliament*, in which there is indeed a Declaration, that the *Church of Rome* is guilty of *Idolatri* ; which is done in general terms, without applying it to His Majesty, as our Author does : Upon this he would Infer, that his Majesty is not safe till the *Tests* are taken away : but we have given such Evidences of our loyalty, that we have plainly shewed this to be false ; since we do openly declare, that our duty to the King is not founded on his being of this or that Religion ; so that His Majesty has a full Security from our Principles, tho the *Tests* continue, since there is no reason that we, who did run the hazard of being ruined by the *Excluders*, when the Tide was so strong against us, would fail his Majesty now, when our Interest and Duty are joyed together : but if the *Tests* are taken away, it is certain that we can

have no Security any longer ; for we shall be then laid open to the Violence of such restless and ill-natured men, as the Author of this Paper and his Brethren are.

VI. The same reason that made our Saviour refuse to throw himself down from the roof of the Temple, when the Devil tempted him to it, in the vain Confidence, that Angels must be assistants to him to preserve him, holds good in our Case. Our saviour said, *Thou shalt not Tempt the Lord thy God*. And we dare not trust our selves to the faith and to the Mercies of a Society, that is but too well known to the World, to pretend, that we should pull down our Pales, to let in such Wolves among us. God and the Laws have given us a legal Security, and His Majesty has promised to maintain us in it : and we think it argues no Distrust, either of God, or the Truth of our Religion, to say, that we cannot by any Act of our own, lay our selves open, and throw away that defence. Nor would we willingly expose His Majesty to the unwearied Solicitations of a sort of men, who, if we may Judge of that which is to come, by that which is past, would give him no rest, if once the restraints of Law were taken off, but would drive matters to those Extremities, to which we see their Natures carry them head-long.

VII. The last Paragraph is a strain worthy of that school that bred our Author ; he says, His Majesty may withdraw his Royal Protection from the Church of England which was promised her, upon the account of her constant Fidelity ; and he brings no other proof to confirm so bold an Assertion but a false Axiome of that despised Philosophy, in which he was bred : *Cessante causa tollitur effectus*. This is indeed such an Indignity to His Majesty, that I presume to say it with all humble reverence, these are the last persons whom he ought to pardon, that have the boldness to touch so sacred a point as the faith of a Prince, which is the chief security of Government, and the Foundation of all the Confidence that a Prince can promise himself from his People, and which, once blasted, can never be recovered: Equivocations

cations may be both taught and practised with less danger by an *Order* that has little Credit to lose ; but nothing can shake *Thrones* so much, as such treacherous *Maximes*. I must also ask our *Author*, in what point of *Fidelity* has our Church failed so far, as to make her forfeit her Title to His *Majesties Promises* ? for as he himself has stated this matter, it comes all to this. *The King promised that he would maintain the Church of England as established by Law*. Upon which in Gratitude he says, that the *Church of England* was bound to throw up the Chief *Security* that she had in her Establishment *by Law* ; which is, that all who are Intrusted either with the *Legislative* or the *Executive* parts of our *Government*, must be of her *Communion* ; and if the *Church of England* is not so tame and so Submissive, as to part with *this*, then the *King* is free from

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his *Promise*, and may withdraw his *Royal Protection* ; tho I must crave leave to tell him, that the *Laws* gave the *Church of England* a Right to that *Protection*, whether His *Majesty* had promised it or not.

Of all the *Maximes* in the World, there is none more hurtful to the *Government*, in our present Circumstances, than the saying, that the *Kings Promises* and the *Peoples Fidelity* ought to be *Reciprocal* ; and that a Failure in the one, cuts off the other : for by a very Natural Consequence the *Subject* may likewise say, that their *Oaths of Allegiance* being founded on the Assurance of His *Majesties Protection*, the *One* binds no longer than the *Other* is observed : and the Inferences that may be drawn from hence will be very terrible, if the *Loyalty* of the so much decry'd *Church of England*, does not put a stop to them.

F I N I S.
